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VOL. XI

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SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

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EDITED BY
CLARK WISSLER

[Title page, a]

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

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Vol. XI, Part III.

SOCIETIES OF THE CROW, HIDATSA AND MANDAN INDIANS.

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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[Title page, b]

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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 424 432 171 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age [551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

573 According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) $\frac{1}{A}$ also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

575 There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 575 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In 575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

$\frac{1}{A}$ [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

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Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies. 575

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139–144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinīk ō'xat'e
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hāhderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohā Kako-schochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakáchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chāh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that they were willing to dispose of their membership. 575 432 [576]

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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xaf'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoe) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pa ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kta'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Si! i'kare'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Si, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you."

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

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575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
527 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which
533 had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The
535 two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten,
293 but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

575 The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
432 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had
534 carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

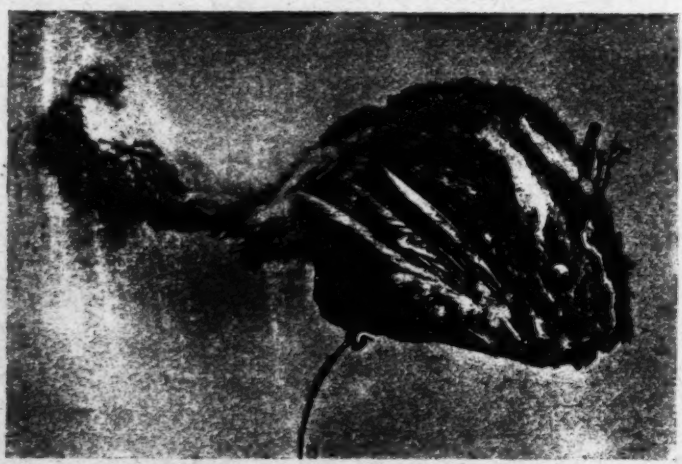

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 [576] Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 113-- Analyst]

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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575 293 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 703 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

[535]

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 424 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menisi* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

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575 608 432 527 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 432 431 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [844] 837 432 527 [782] Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: —

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits."
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

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after the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out with the ex-
ception of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *mocu'ka waxō"ze* (see p. 280).

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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights.

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on.

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances.

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached

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575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy [1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands.

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253.

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hă'derucha-O'chată as "Crow, or Raven, band." [1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hă'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership.

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohă-Kakoscho'chată), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hă'deruch-O'chată* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase.

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught-

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa Ă'rerŏ'ka society (p. 266).

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[537] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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Fig. 11. Mandan Half-Shaved Head Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

[p. 311]

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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with
432 his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
527 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the
[837] purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the
535 dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
302 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *i'he pa'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k*
625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

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might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes.

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1]

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black

[1] Maximilian, i. 578.
[2] Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

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575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

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feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog.

575 [302] [201]

Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12.

575 292

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

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Fig. 12. Mandan Bull Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum.

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time.

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1]

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey.

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[1] Boller, 109–105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[1] The native name is mini's ō'xatce. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word mice's applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

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A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

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Wounded-face says that the rattle (wĭ'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309–311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatä). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

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each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek, near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

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The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

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Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

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MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochată), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochată), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochată), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochată) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145, 219.

[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

[4] Matthews, 155.

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H 561 575 not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

H M 561 575 432 The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

H M 608 432 575 The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

H M 575 432 That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

H M 575 Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

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Skunk Women Society.

According to Hides-and-eats, this society (Hidatsa: xu'xke mĭ'ɛ i'kĕ) differs from several of the others in not requiring an adoption for entrance. When the Mandan had killed an enemy in war and rejoiced over it, the young girls' parents painted them and bade them dance. The face was painted black with charcoal except for a triangular area tapering from the center of the forehead towards the nose, which was daubed with white clay. An eagle plume was stuck upright in the back of the head. There was a single male singer with a drum. A song referring to the enemy was worded as follows: "The man formed like a wolf that came must get back home. He must be sorry for it. He himself sits bent down." 575 302 [608]

Calf-woman, a younger but equally trustworthy source of information, confirmed Hides-and-eats' statements regarding the painting of the face, which was meant to suggest the appearance of skunks, and also with regard to the occasion for the public dance. On the other hand, she contradicted her as to the absence of adoption proceedings. According to Calf-woman, the privilege of membership in the Skunk society was acquired in the same way as in other women's organizations. For thirty days, or rather nights, the prospective Skunks, while learning the appropriate songs and dances, entertained those who sold their membership to them,— their "mothers." At the close of the thirty nights' feasts, the young girls piled up property as a payment for the acquisition of the society. In this they were assisted by the correlated Stone Hammer organization of the young men. In addition to this collective payment, each novice, on receiving the plume ornament, gave her "mother" a dress or robe, sometimes receiving in return an entire suit of clothes. Further, any one who could afford it presented her mother with horses. After this final gift, the newly adopted Skunks performed a four nights' dance, at the close of which their mothers addressed them as "daughters" and provided them with a good supper. In this society there was a leader and a rear officer; the former was always the oldest woman in the village. The Skunks requited the favor done by the Stone Hammers by helping the young men buy the next higher men's society. The Skunks were in the habit of going to a famous warrior and singing his praise outside the lodge in expectation of some gift from the man thus honored. In this way they would proceed from lodge to lodge. The other societies — with the exception of the Geese — *might* do the same, but with none of them was it an established practice as among the Skunks. 575 608 432 527

Buffalo-bird-woman, an Hidatsa informant, also stated that the Skunk society was bought like those of higher rank. The women of whom her 575 432 608

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575 432 608 own group bought the organization are the group now holding the Goose membership. Her "mother" was Crow-woman, whom, previous to her adoption, she had addressed as *baca'wi*, "my aunt," a term of relationship applied to a father's sister or a father's sister's daughter. From the same woman my informant purchased, in later years, the privileges of the Grass Crown (= River Women) society and the Enemy Women society. Had her "mother" died before Buffalo-bird-woman's purchasing of membership in these organizations, she would have selected for her mother some woman in the sellers' group who happened to have no ceremonial daughter. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the mothers were entertained for only ten nights and the "friends" of the Skunks participated in the feast. On the tenth night individual presents were given to the mothers. In return Buffalo-bird-woman received an eagle plume tied so as to hang down the back of the head. The mothers also presented their daughters with good clothes. For the fun of the thing two members of the Old Women society, which had aided in the purchase of the organization, joined the newly adopted Skunks in their four nights' dance. This informant limits the use of distinctive paint to the very small girls in the society. These painted [302] their faces black, save for a white streak extending across the nose and the forehead, and occasionally prolonged as a band up the head and down the back of the head. The older girls painted as they pleased, but when an enemy had been killed all the members used black paint. There were one or two male singers, who used drums.

575 432 The difference of opinion between Hides-and-eats and other informants, as to whether the Skunk society was purchased or not, is perhaps explained by statements made by Buffalo-bird-woman to Rev. Wilson. According to her, many girls would not care to join in the purchase of the Skunk membership, but as there was nothing sacred about the society any of them might come and join later without pay if they so chose. She was then regarded as a full-fledged member and was entitled to part of the price paid by the next lower group when the society was sold to them. Even if a girl had not joined in this way, she was not barred from purchasing the next higher society.

Enemy Women Society.

575 [432] 727 In order to join this society (Hidatsa: mā' ihā' mī'ɛ i'ke') Hides-and-eats paid one blanket and two or three buckets of food. The performance of the organization was in commemoration of the warriors who had fallen in a recent engagement, and all the songs, chanted by four singers, were

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victory songs. The dresses worn by members were furnished by their relatives. The hair was worn streaming loose down the back. A crier called all the women together. The members marched two abreast. Two long hooked poles were stuck into the ground by a man, and two such sticks were afterwards carried by the two leaders, and a similar pair by the two women in the rear of the procession. The poles were wrapped with otter-skin and decorated with eagle feathers. All the women wore a head band decorated with crossing eagle feathers and a bunch of feathers dyed red.

Hides-and-eats said that this society ought to be entered before the White Buffalo organization, but she joined after being a member of the latter.

Calf-woman joined this society at the age of 23. She described the dance as a victory dance. The performers went to the house of different warriors of distinction, danced there, and received presents (see p. 325). According to this informant, there were only two hooked sticks, one borne by the leader, and the other by the rear officer. Two little girls who stood in the middle had no badge of office. The members wore ordinary cloth head bands, with eagle feathers stuck in horizontally on the left side, just as in the head band of the River Women's society. The hair was parted in front and dressed like men's, being decorated with hair-pipes, with horn shells above, and still higher with a feather on either side. The dance was performed in four successive nights. Two of the eagle feathers on the pole depended from the end of the hooked section, and a pair of feathers was also attached at each of two points on the shaft. These poles exactly resembled those of the men's Fox society.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that all the members except two were married women, the two being small girls who were always supposed to be in the society. My informant herself was one of these, so that she was an Enemy even before entering the Skunk organization. When the Enemy Women society was sold by her associates, Buffalo-bird-woman was of the proper age to enter the Skunk society, which she did, being adopted by her aunt Red.[1] The Enemy Women society was a very old Hidatsa institution, but was not considered sacred. The dance took place originally as a jubilee over a slain enemy; in later times it was performed whenever some member, or outsider, provided a feast for the society. In dancing the performers approached the fireplace and then moved back again. There was no uniform step; some danced faster, others more slowly. A performance lasted four nights. Two leaders carried hooked sticks, the other members wore head bands. Sometimes the members marched out of their lodge, two

[1] Contradictory statements were made by the same informant in describing the Skunk society. See p. 338.

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575 abreast, and walked through the village, halting at different places. They
535 received gifts at each of the stopping-places. If they so desired, they might enter a men's society lodge and dance there. Five musicians were selected from among the best singers in "friendly" men's societies.

575 Before buying the society, Buffalo-bird-woman's group came in to watch
432 their prospective mothers perform a dance. Thus, the two groups met, collectively, for the first time. The buyers accumulated property, which
[575] was piled up in a heap. Their male "friends" brought a pipe and placed it before the mothers, whose male "friends" smoked the pipe. On the
527 next evening each daughter brought some food for her mother. This offering of food was repeated every evening until the fourth. Then the sellers dressed up a male "friend," who wore one of the head bands emblematic of the society and held the two hooked sticks in his hands. As the singers intoned a song, this man danced without moving from his place. Blankets, and other property, were then piled up by the buyers. The heap was supposed to equal the man's height. Accordingly, the sellers' "friends" repeatedly jumped on the pile to make it as low as possible and cause the surrender of additional property by the purchasers. The man with the hooked sticks continued dancing. When his body and head were no longer visible, the buyers departed and the mothers distributed the property. On the fifth night two little girls, about eight years old, were taken into the lodge, and dressed up in fine leggings and moccasins, skin dresses, and buffalo robes. They also received several belts, beaded necklaces, finger-rings and bracelets. Each of these girls was requested to remain in the center of the rear and told not to run away. Then they were divested of all their new clothes, finger-rings, leggings, other garments and ornaments, to the very skin. The girls were greatly embarrassed and sought to cover their nakedness, to run away and hide themselves, much to the amusement
[43] of the older women. On the tenth and last night, each buyer filled a pipe and carried some present to her mother's lodge. The mother had prepared a feast for her daughter, and also gave her fine clothes for a present. It happened at times that a woman had two or three daughters, each of whom had to be provided with a new suit. In such a case a woman called on one of her male "friends" to provide sufficient clothing, and this man was then entitled to a portion of the property given by the buyers to the sellers.
575 On the same occasion each novice received her head band (itawarū'wixe).
292 Rich "mothers" furnished elaborately decorated head bands. An eagle feather was placed on the left side of this crown, and below it five wing feathers of the *kawi'ka* bird[1] supported on a stretching-stick. The right

[1] The quills of the feathers were used to make quillwork.

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side of the head band was decorated with plumes. The ordinary form of crown was of grass, more rarely of black cloth; two strings of horn shells and bead pendants were attached for decoration. A woman owning a white buffalo skin might wear a crown of this material. 575 292

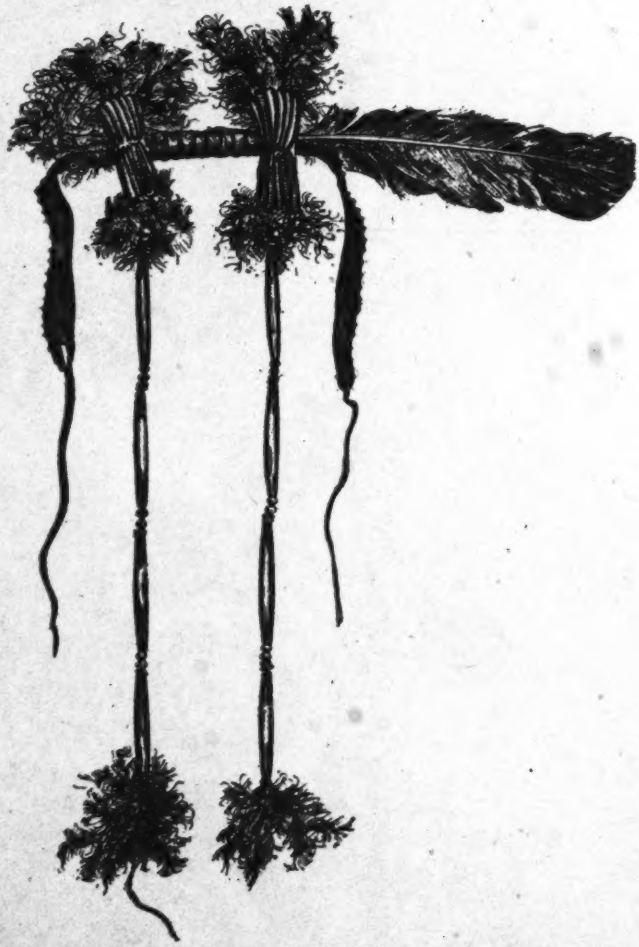

Fig. 13 (50.1–4330). Head Ornament of Enemy Women Society. Length, 57 cm.

Maximilian describes the headdress as consisting of pendent shells and glass beads secured to the forehead, with a feather extending crosswise. A model made by Calf-woman is shown in Fig. 13.

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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mi'racē'ruc	batsē'	wakī'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Mà̀kooxpa',	na'kirac	ĭ'ru	mi	i'katà̀ruc,	hiri'ts.
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitṑ'k?
Will you throw him away?

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Goose Society.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

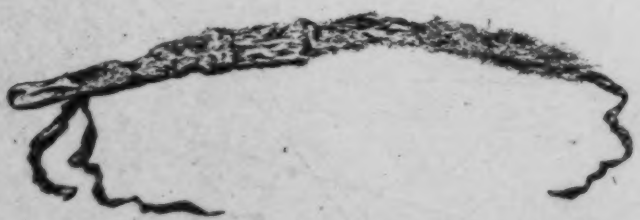

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

M H 575 302

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

M H 575 527

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

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"tawī^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'kehará makū'nista. nimā'ꞵihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
ī'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

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till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

M H [782]

In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *i'rara'xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

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ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

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It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2]

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An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

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Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms.

One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind.

The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please.[1]

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Finally, Maximilian has described a corn dance common to both Mandan and Hidatsa. Though he mentions the Hidatsa Goose society, he does not connect it with the corn ceremony, which is described in an entirely different connection as one of the principal tribal ceremonies, after the Okipe and the buffalo-calling ceremony. Maximilian distinguishes a spring and an autumn ceremony. The spring festival was a consecration of the plants to be sown, which were symbolized by certain birds sent by Old-woman-who-never-dies, the wild goose representing the corn; the swan, squashes; and the duck, beans. A great deal of dried meat had been prepared and was suspended from racks in from two to four rows as an offering to Old-Woman-who-never-dies. The elderly women of the tribe, as representatives of this deity, assembled near these racks on a specified date all of them carrying a stick on which a corncob was impaled. They sat down in a circle, planted the sticks into the ground, danced round the racks, and again took up the sticks, while some old men were beating drums and shaking their rattles. Contrary to Say's statement, Maximilian holds that the corn was not sprinkled or moistened, for this was regarded as producing a harmful effect on it. While the older women were busy with their performance, the younger ones approached them and put into their mouths some dried and pulverized meat, each receiving in return a seed of the consecrated corn. In addition three or four seeds were placed into each younger woman's bowl, and afterwards these were carefully mixed with the corn

[1] James, II, 58–60.

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sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

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The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, — more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.[1]

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

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It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

Old Women Society.

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The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+ì'ri) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

[1] Maximilian, II, 182–184.

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secured by Buffalo-bird-woman's father, and that she herself and her brothers bought it of their father, whence she derives the right to tell about the society.

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There were about twenty women in the organization. All of them painted a red oval on both cheeks, sometimes adding a red oval on the forehead; they also put red paint on the shoulders of their dresses. Each carried in her right arm a stick of ashwood, about 4½ feet in length, to the top of which had been fastened a small bunch of sagebrush. The stick was painted red. The women carried their robes rolled up under the left arm. When dancing, they rested the sticks on the ground, and worked their right arms back and forth. A male singer had braided sweetgrass [1] hanging down from his shoulder; his robe, which he used as a drum, he carried like the women. His drumstick was painted red. When enemies had been killed, the society proceeded to the house of a man who had struck an enemy. The singer called out the hero's name and the nature of his exploit. Then all the women danced. In this way they proceeded from lodge to lodge, receiving valuable presents from the persons eulogized. This dance was only performed when an enemy had been killed. The society also met when Small-ankle, the informant's father, performed a sacred ceremony. In this case the ground was cleansed and consecrated. The women leaned on their sticks, panting, pretending great fatigue, and uttering such sentences as, "I have come from the mountains," or "I come from the north." Buffalo-bird-woman, when small, believed that these women were spirits. They danced in the lodge. Small-ankle gave each performer a tanned robe and some other present, such as a gun. Then they danced back towards the door, and rushed out. One of them, a berdache (mía'ti) jumped up and tore down some meat suspended in the lodge before dashing outside. As soon as the members were outdoors, they acted as though demented, dropping their blankets and straying off in all directions. After a while they regained possession of their senses, and picked up the discarded garments. Once one of the women did not return before the next morning, but wandered off into the mountains, led by a sacred spirit-woman (mā'xupa mi'ɛ).[2]

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[1] This, my informant had heard, once turned into a bull-snake.

[2] A more complete account of the society was secured from Wolf-chief and shows clearly that it must not be classed with the other women's societies. Buffalo-bird-woman's brief statement is presented here simply because of her insistence that the Old Women aided their "friends" among the other societies and in that sense belonged with them.

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Gun Society.

575 [608] 535 Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: I'rupe ō'xat'e) there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medicine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,[1] put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to [782] dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.[2] The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

River Women Society.

575 The River Women society (pasa''mī'he ō'xat'e) is called "Grass Crown society" (mikā'kikii') by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

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[1] Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

[2] Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reörganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

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575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kĭnumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kĭnumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

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Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society.

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership.

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations.

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

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members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

M [183]

H 575 432 527

Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe[1] to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts[2] danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

[1] This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

[2] See p. 227.

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happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation.

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sage-brush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase.

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society.

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face,

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

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575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptĭ'take ŏ'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, 1, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

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535
292

Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432 Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. 535 They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575 an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a 527 red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 292 corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). [778] A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *šīše* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575 officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527 met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535 to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

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575 527 535 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the [576] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally [608 431] set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

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Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17).

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance.

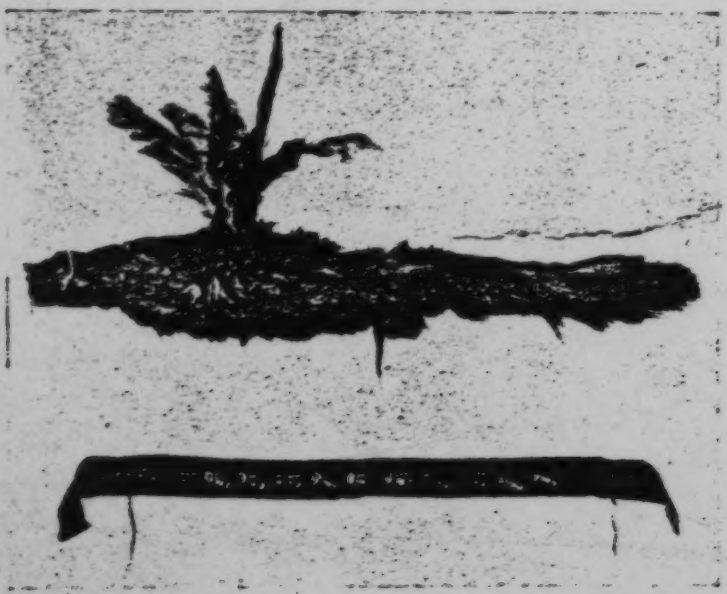

Fig. 17 (50.1–6815, 50.1–6331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 55 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin.

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MH 575 1 MH 575 561 In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

MH 575 527 [788] Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).

[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

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on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'zkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her

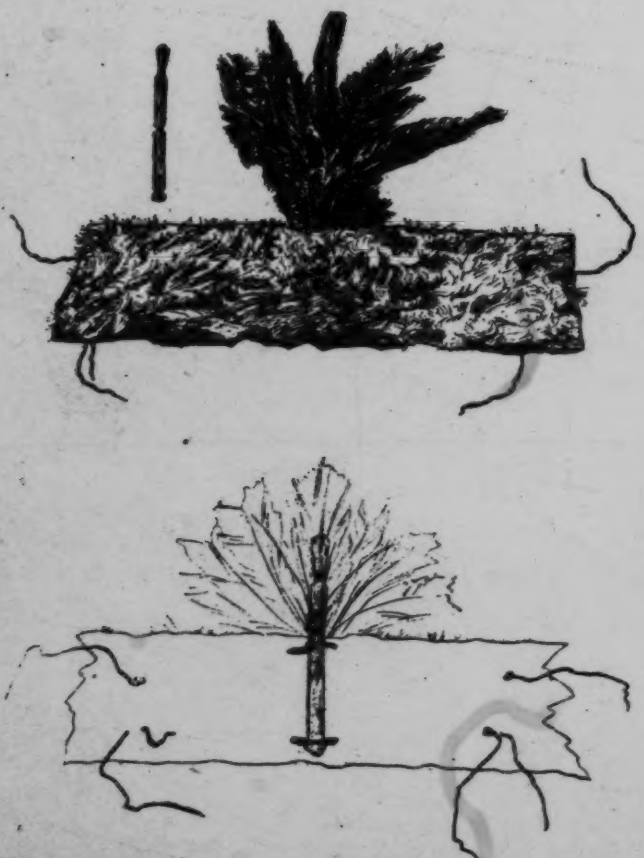

Fig. 18. (50.1–6020, 50.1–4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair.

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

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Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase

give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

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The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

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MANDAN TEXTS.

I.

mi^{n}sipàsa ō′wakarax mī′hṑxat mārū′cec. ō′warucèkī, icákhi^{n} 539
Yellowstone River mouth Goose society I bought. We got it, then

nū′waxkùpini mī′ha^{n} ō′cahe énuka àxkupíni, numā′napekàc. mérEx
our crowns goose cut stripe that we put on, we danced. Kettle

oki′heranì marátEk ísexki mā′skuhinì, mō′+ipke, éokarèc. ī′wa-
cooked feast making sugar (coffee or tea) dried meat, these (they made). I

kapèkac hi^{n} mā′+íxte nōwā′teki "néwak káana." ī′wakapèkac,
distributed and calico if there is any "This keep it." I distributed,

gawī′wakapékac.
I was the distributor.

II.

mī′xgereki u′u^{n} mā′akci hëra mahī′migak ō′ohèrani sùxgarikā′-
Woman some and pointed hill clay-hill they came

sëeroc. mi′isi u′u^{n} mā′kiruxka ā′xkupkerec, hi^{n} ō′oherenì taka-
out from there. Woman snakes crown put on, and then

wáxgarākc máxana núpxe ī′na^{n}kā′aruc. inúp mána meréx kā′kerec.
singer one skin rattle had. Two drum they had.

nū′maaké hera mā′mini hī′rixirì. herō′makōc. hi^{n} ō′oherenì nū′ma^{n}-
A man water not drank. He saw it. And then people

kā̀kisen nā′aku^{n} ō′xat ísexkèrec. hia^{n}′ska hū′na nucā′ni érexkòroni.
afterwards society made. And that way coming they wanted to get it.

mā′oka kicō′kēregèc. kō ō′xatkarès utkū′karec. hi^{n} ō′oherenì ā′we
Property they gathered. This society to they give it. And then all

kohū′ne tū′tuhoc nā′askahàna. hi^{n} ō′xat keresō′onik mā′a' sì̀na
mothers they got that way. And society when they were(?) Eagle

híromakōc. "ō′minatatinistore," éheni. káni ī′pe okirúskani. ā′^{n}we
came. "I want to join," he said. Then tail feathers he pulled out, all

máxananā̀ kehē′reromakōc. Kínumakci hī′romakṑc. káni ícak
one by one he gave to them. Kinumakci came. Then he himself

mō′okire kahéreromakōc. xa′tā′rak éotahī^{n} mā′^{n}si inúu éota ō′ki
head ornament he gave to them. Grass with them Eagle that with them head
ornament

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539 kéreromakõc. mã'kiruxkas u'u^{n} ã'xkupini mõ'okĩ'keres õ'ota nẽhe-
he put on. Snakes crown put on feathers with them all

rekère nõ'makoc. hí matõ'na híremakõc. hi u^{n}káahe kínucãni,
together he did. And Bear came. And claws he took off,

kahére nomakõ'c, mĩ^{n}'keresẽ'ra nápini íkererowakõ'c. hi^{n} péxtakẽ'na
he gave to them he did. Those women necklaces ?. And Otter

híromakõc. péxtakẽnus u^{n}'ut matõ'+uks nẽherekerèc. hiná^{n}skahere
came to them. That Otter on bear's claws they put on. That way then

kihi^{n}' óxat nucékĩhi mató u^{n}káas. nupápirɛk ta+istúhe ã'^{n}tãroc
they did (?). society they got when bear claws. Twenty nights that is all

õ'xatat hi u^{n}'a marátɛk nĩ'sixkac, hiã'terõhereni numã'akupenas
that society that number feast we made. And then our crowns

éheni matõ'u^{n}ks éheni nukíxkukerẽ'c, minís nukáherɛk. hi õ'oher enĩ
bear claws they gave to us, horse we gave. And then

istúhare nixgã'rɛk nuki'inã'pec, nukíxasúxgerekat matĩ'ixta dikũ'^{n}cta.
in the evening about this time we danced, in a circle we go out outside inside (?)

karúpxari érexkiniki inúnũp néxkerèki matõ'+uk napinís inúp
When they wish to go in two by two as they follow bear claws necklace two of them

kiu^{n}'tõc ná^{n}ska kikõ'kikaha^{n} karúpxekirikãc, dikũ'usta
leaders ? two go in, inside

kínaapékerikac. matõ'+uk nápini nené itõ'opuc mã'ata inák
they dance there. Bear claw necklace those four of them shell

kánapinĩ tõ'opuc. hiyõ'^{n}háreni matõ'uk napinís itõ'pca tawáhe
necklace four. And then bear claw necklace four (each) songs

túkerec. hi^{n} ganã'ktikĩhi itõ'ps nã'ape kirikac. mũ'u'perĩ'kerekac,
they had. And when singing four danced. They give presents,

mĩ'iharacirĩ, ínuperecirĩ, mã'+ixterecirĩ u^{n}peréxkerekèc, mã'takara-
blankets, guns, calicoes they give away, shell

pinikas tã'wahe tũ'kerec. icakĩ'raapékikerekèc. hi^{n} nã'apee kixẽ'k-
necklace some they had. They made them dance. And dance when

teki, hĩ'inak mũ'upèrekerekèc. hi^{n} kixẽ'ktiki, mã'axkupkères mõ'oca
they stop, they give away presents. And they cease, their crowns rope tied

nutíte hèreni mã'a'kups ĩ'kaskĩkerec kakiní'na. mã'peha ã'we
string they did (?) crowns they tied one after another. Under the crowns all

mĩ'ixkères hã'nakèrekac. kawáxkanã'kɛs õ'hanakĩrekac. itõ'pana
women sleep. Singers slept. On the fourth night

õ'maxa hánakĩrec, õ'kape õ'tita keréxkerekèc. kacékarèxteki õ'keres
together they slept, some of the rest home they went. Near daybreak those that went home

ã^{m}we óti ecká nupkã'ata, nuréexkac. õ'tii nurõ'pxektíki, numã'x- 539
all their homes we woke them up, we go along (to the next house). Her house we enter.
we

kanã'kac. "ímupã, kitã'ni, mahũ'na!" kawáxkanã'kes nõ'ota,
sing. "Comrade, wake up, come!" Singers we are with,

hi^{m} ã'we kíixkèrekac tíoohìta mã'axkup ónũnisũ't. hi^{m} tõ'pana
and all come back to the lodge crowns where they keep. And four nights

nũ'mak nõ'hũ'ta mã'rahirexkèrekac. tõ'panã'ne ecó kixẽ'kerec.
man near they do not go to. On that fourth night that they stop.

kixẽ'kehi kamã'napikEs ã'we marátEk íseexkèrec. oóhereni mã'axkupe
When they stop those dancers all feast they make. And then crowns

ã'we kawákirihẽ'rec. mã'akta mã'axkups náciha nũ'nixkèrikac.
all they string up. On the ground crowns behind they stay.

hi^{m} õ'ohereni nũ'maake máxana mã'niksùks katanickerekà énehi
And then man one (with) bird medicine that one

kamĩ'nepekàs, ã'we íkaraxukõc õ'ohaktõ'hereni. kixẽ'ktihi, mã'axkups
dancers, all he rubs off to the last one. When they cease, crowns

ĩ'wapsituxs kirúcani, íxahanàs ã'we kirúcanãni, kicũ'cukàrani. kãhósta
their feathers he takes out, those grasses all he unloosens, he straightens out.
On the prairie

ã'nahinik, patíkõc. ã'atãroc.
he takes them out, he throws them away. This is all.

III.

cáhakèro nu^{m}tẽk, minísinik óxat'e nurũ'cec. hiã'atere òoháreni
Across the river we were staying. Crit society we bought. And then

nú^{m}kikìruhèreec. ã'we híkerec. ã'taxka' "mã'karuske hárenìsta!"
we invited friends. All got there. Already "Things collect!"

nu^{m}tamáhe túktõc. híre íctuxki manác nã're'toc. nápte hérEkerekì,
Our song we ought to have. Now tonight tobacco we take over. They will light
the pipe (?)

a^{m}'taxkac mã'+usta híre ictúxki nũ'tiktõc. "ã'we marácisèke
them already that night we shall all be there. "All mixed-tobacco

hu^{m}'hu^{m} hárenista! marátEke ã'we óna atínitooc kũ'^{m}nìsta" hi^{m}hã'-
plenty have! Feast all your father give ye." Now,

askat ictúhe tétuki maráteke nũkũ'una nũ'wiic. nã'aka ictúxki
that way nights eight feast we gave right along. Next night

nũkirúcextõ'c hináasekehì kõ'ots ú^{m}uta hi^{m}áthi^{m} híkereèc hi^{m} kõ'otsũt
we shall get it. That way fathers to them they have come. And to his father

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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539 hĭkihi. "Ptamā'-ipàxtuke makĭ'kùuta. ptámanisè no ā'watì'c."
he came. "My clothes give me mine. My horse here I have out here."

hi[a] kō'otsē'na "néwa[a]k márahē'rēc" éheni. marátEke kū'urōc.
And to (?) his father, "This is your food," he said. Feast he gave them.

"néhak nihū'poō'c, néhak nihú[a]cic, íniwacutō'oc, manā'nihoc marára-
"This is your moccasin, this your leggings, your shirt, your blanket, your

pìninuc, mō'orakeskèc, mō'onakiruc nī'itak ō'racipoc."
necklace your earring, your head ornament, your face-pendants."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911)1913 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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4: Lowie
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[Although no mention is made of it in the analyzed sections of this source, the Mandan and Hidatsa societies are also age-graded. Therefore, for information concerning category 561 (age stratification) see also category 575 (sodalities). -- Analyst]